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AUTHOR Thomas, Susan Gotsch
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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to determine the (theoretical) relative influence of family status and occupational and attitudinal variables on women's commitment to work. Twelve hundred working women were asked. "If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you'd like for the rest of your life, could you continue to work? Yes or no?" Answers were tabulated and compared, using Goodman analysis, with such variables as marital status, race, education, presence of preschool or older children, job satisfaction, and occupation. Results suggest a composite portrait of the working woman with highest work commitment: she is young, white, not currently married, has some college experience (especially a degree), is most likely to be a professional or manager, is very satisfied with her job, and values the challenge aspects of the job more highly than the financial aspects (non-instrumental). The picture of a woman with a low degree of work commitment is that she is an older white, married blue-collar woman with no more than a high school education; her job is not satisfying to her and her work orientation is either instrumental or mixed. It is important to note that presence of preschool children, family income, and income adequacy were not found to influence work commitment, even when examined with a series of controls. (KC)

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STRUCTURAL AND ATTITUDINAL FACTORS RELATED TO THE WORK COMMITMENT OF EMPLOYED WOMEN*

Susan Gotsch Thomson
Tuskegee Institute

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Introduction

Until recent years, questions concerning the work commitment of women have gone unanswered, perhaps because it was assumed that women, or at least married women, had little.* Beginning in the seventies, sociologists were encouraged to investigate such commitment to paid employment (Safilios-Rothschild, 1971; Haller and Rosenmayr, 1971; Sobol, 1973,1974). Yet even within this scant research, a variety of conceptions exist which define work commitment. As Safilios-Rothschild commented, work commitment has been measured by both behavioral and attitudinal indices; thus actual or planned labor force participation or questions concerning women's attitudes toward work have been used. For example, Sobol (1973) developed an instrument called "labor force attachment" to measure work commitment, which consisted of current work behavior, work plans and actual labor force participation over a decade. Other researchers (Katelman and Barnett, 1968; Safilios-Rothschild, 1971) focused on the value attached to working, which is similar to desire to work. Haller and Rosenmayr (1971) distinguished between desires and expectations for work in their measure of future work plans; in addition, they incorporated attitudinal question into their analysis.

The distinction made by Haller and Rosenmayr between

*One notable exception is Sobol (1963).

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desires and expectations for work is important to this paper, for their approach recognized that expections and desires concerning work may not coincide. As a type of aspriation, they have distinguished the two central elements of expectancy theory as applied to work commitment: the subjective probability of an event (expectations of working); and the value attached to the outcome (desire to work). It is to the latter aspiration that this paper is addressed.* The variable to be used is whether women say they would continue to work even if they had enough money to live as comfortably as they would like for the rest of their lives (see Goode, 1963, and Orden and Bradburn, 1969, for similar use of this question). Since most of the previous literature has dealt with labor force participation/attachment, this will serve as a reference point for theoretical perspectives. It will also enable comparisons of the factors influencing labor force participation/attachment and the attitudinal variable of work commitment.

*The variety of concepts of work commitment are not mere semantics or simply different ways of operationalizing the definition. One approach (which has been termed labor force attachment) clearly measures behavior or planned behavior; if one is interested in predicting such economic indicators as future labor force participation of women, then behavioral indices such as that of Sobol (1973) are excellent. Although labor force participation and/or attachment may well reflect the individual motivations of women, they also reflect structural variables that may not be related to the work commitment of women (for example, area labor demands and supply, financial circumstances of the family and the like). But if the concern is with work commitment as an attitudinal variable, then it is essential to use indices which measure the desires or valuations associated with work--work commitment. The approach used in this paper is to focus on work commitment as an attitude.

A Theoretical Perspective

Two complementary theories have been offered in the literature as to the conditions influencing the labor force attachment of women. Sobol (1963) posited three major conditions which influence work decisions: (a) enabling conditions (such as family status variables, presence of children); (b) facilitating conditions (such as wife's education, previous work experience, local labor market conditions); and (c) precipitating conditions (such as dissatisfaction with present situation, financial and attitudinal motivations for seeking employment).

A somewhat related theoretical perspective is offered by Dowdall(1974a), who focuses on the importance of attitudinal variables influencing labor force participation. Not only does she address the issue of whether attitudes or structural variables are more important determinants, but, furthermore, that the relative importance of attitudinal or structural factors may differ for various sub-groups of women. Dowdall argues that the "choice" of entering the labor force differs according to the economic and marital status of the woman making the decision.

The use of these two approaches seems particularly relevant to the consideration of work commitment as an attitude. Essentially, Dowdall has introduced two new elements that can be placed within the framework of Sobol. First, she has added a precipitating factor that may serve to push women into the labor force. Secondly, Dowdall has called for an examination of

the interactions of attitudinal and structural variables. Thus it is not enough to examine each of the elements of Sobol's classification, but rather to investigate how the variables jointly influence the outcome variable. By combining the frameworks of Sobol and Dowdall, the result is different from both, yet has its genesis in each. A modification of the above frameworks would suggest three sources of influence to be investigated relative to the desire to continue working:

> (a) family structural variables:
> (b) investment variables relative to occupation, for example, education, occupation, work history, which are also structural in nature; and
> (c) attitudinal factors such as approval of maternal employment, satisfaction with one's job, or work orientations (e.g. reasons for working).

Finally, Dowdall's perspective adds a fourth area of consideration:

> (d) to what extent is work commitment influence by the interaction of structural and attitudinal variables.

By using work commitment (desire to work) as the outcome variable, it will be possible to compare the factors identified as influencing labor force attachment with those found to influence work commitment. Before beginning the analysis, attention should be paid to those variables identified as important in previous studies of "work commitment."

Family status variables

Marital status has not often been used in previous studies of work commitment, in large part because of the nature of the samples used (e.g. Sobol, 1963, 1973; Dowdall, 1974a; Eyde, 1968). But marital status is clearly associated with labor force participation (Statistical Abstracts, 1976, No. 561). Young children also seem to deter labor force participation:

in aggregate terms, the percentage of women in the labor force with pre-school children is lower than those without children or with school-age children (Statistical Abstracts, 1976, No. 565). The evidence from other studies concerning the effects of the presence of children is mixed. School-age children seem to have little influence (Rossman and Campbell, 1965; Sobol, 1963). While Rosenfeld and Perrella (1965) found that more employed women with pre-school children said they would quit work if their earnings were not needed, other studies have shown that employed women with pre-school children were more likely to have future work plans than those without children (Sobol 1963; Fogarty, et al., 1971; Parnes, 1970). However, current pregnancy was found to be a deterrent to continued work (Sobol, 1963; Rosenfeld and Perrella, 1965).

The relationship between labor force attachment and age shows two peaks in participation (Kreps, 1971), which follow stages in the life-cycle. Haller and Rosenmayr (1971, comparing 20-24 year-old and 25-30 year-old Austrian women) found that only the older white-collar mothers showed a substantial increase in desire to work. But when considering expectations, older women, and especially older mothers, more frequently expected long-term employment; this tendency was especially evident for blue-collar women.

Another family status variable which has been shown to be related to labor force participation rates is that of husband's income (Kreps, 1971). But the actual level of husband's income does not seem to be consistently related to work commitment

(Sobol, 1963, 1973). Haller and Rosenmayr (1971) examined the relationship separately for white-and blue-collar mothers: within occupations, blue-collar mothers with low family income and white-collar mothers with high family incomes more frequently expected long-term employment. Thus it would seem that a woman's occupation (or perhaps her class) specifies the relationship between family imcome and work commitment. Income adequacy or income relativity was also identified as influencing labor force attachment, particularly feelings of economic insecurity and that one's friends were better off (Sobol, 1973).

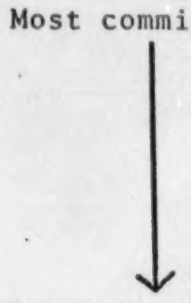
Investment and occupational variables

Fairly consistent occupational differences have been found concerning work commitment, with white-collar women more often expecting to be working and saying they would work without financial necessity (Haller and Rosenmayr, 1971). Women wno are operatives are less likely to have future work plans (Sobol, 1963; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). Work history has also been identified as an important factor influencing future work plans for non-employed women (Sobol, 1963) and for white-collar women (Haller and Rosenmayr, 1971).

Education is a variable closely related to occupation, although it also represents the amount of investment a women may have made in preparation for working. Sobol (1973) found that education was positively correlated to labor force attachment (in the multiple regression), as did Safilios-Rothschild (1970) in her measure of work commitment.

Attitudinal variables

One of the important conclusions reached by Sobol (1963:54) in her study of the future work plans of married women was how influential a woman's reason for working was on such "work commitment." From the multiple regression equation, it was possible to rank the reasons for working relative to work plans:



(1) working to fill a need for accomplishment

(2) working to meet people or to occupy time

(3) helping in family business

(4) working because family needs income

(5) working to acquire assets

Sobol argues that although need for accomplishment was not the reason most commonly offered, it is the reason which was most closely associated with high work commitment. In addition, women who mentioned only non-financial reasons for working were more likely to plan extended work careers than those women who mentioned both financial and non-financial reasons. Haller and Rosenmayr (1971) found that non-financial motivation rather than financial reasons were related to higher commitment (although the motivational factors associated were different for white-and blue-collar women). However, financially motivated blue-collar women expected long term employment. The relationship between job satisfaction and work commitment appears to be positive, for both white- and blue-collar women (Haller and Rosenmayr,

1971; Parnes, et al., 1970).

Dowdall (1974a) investigated the combined influence of structural and attitudinal variables. In the multiple regression, she found that wife's education, husband's yearly income, and age of youngest child were related to labor force participation, but that the proportion of the variance explained by these factors was only four percent. When the attitudinal variable of work approval was added, the R^2 increased to 0.12. More importantly, she found that the importance of the attitudinal variable (approval of maternal employment) depended upon economic position: for women in low income families, the structural variables were more important (especially age of youngest child), whereas work approval was by far the most important variable for upper status women.

Hypotheses

Based on the review of previous findings concerning labor force attachment or work commitment, it is anticipated that certain family and occupational status variables will be associated with work commitment. One would expect high work commitment to be found among younger women, those who are not married, and women with no pre-school children. Family income may also be associated with work commitment, but the direction of the relationship needs to be investigated; for example, women who perceived their incomes as inadequate or not enough to live comfortably may be working only for financial reasons and would quit work if they had enough money. In terms of occupational status, working in a non-typical (e.g. "male") occupation, and longer work history should be associated with

high work commitment. Finally, being satisfied with one's job and having a non-instrumental orientation should be related to high work commitment.

Methodology

The data are taken from the Survey of Working Conditions (1969) and Quality of Employment Survey (1973) conducted by Survey Research Center. A total of 1020 women, who were employed at least part-time, were used in the following analyses. The measure of work commitment used was: "If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you'd like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work? Yes or no?" Having such a natural dichotomous variable is particularly well-suited to log linear analysis (Goodman, 1972) in that the respondent makes the choice, rather than the researcher imposing categories on the reponses.

After examining simple crosstabulations for commonalities in the work commitment of women, a multi-stage Goodman analysis will be used to examine work commitment. Both Davis (1975) and Duncan (1975) have illustrated such a multi-stage approach, whereby variables are added as controls or to clarify a relationship. As used here, the three stages will be to first examine family status variables, then add those variables pertaining to occupation, and finally introduce two attitude variables--job satisfaction and instrumental orientation--into the Goodman analysis.*

*One of the technical advantages is that variables which are not significantly related to work commitment (even when others factors are controlled) can be dropped from the multivariate crosstabulation, thereby reducing the number of small cell frequencies.

Presentation of Findings

More than half (56.9%) of the women expressed a desire to continue working without financial necessity. As might be expected (e.g. relative to cultural norms concerning working women), this was a smaller proportion than the men who expressed similar desires (72.6%). Unlike Parnes (1970), no significant racial trends were found in the initial crosstabulations; however since race may interact with other variables, it will be introduced into the log linear analysis. The examination of bivariate relationships between work commitment and family status, occupational, and attitudinal variables identified the variables to be included in the Goodman log linear analysis.

Bivariate relationship

Marital status had an influence on commitment, with widowed and married women having the lowest work commitment and single women having highest. Since women who were the sole or major family earners also had higher rates of commitment (61.1%) than those who were supplemental earners (53.5%), both variables were introduced as control variables on each other. The results indicated that it is marital status, rather than earner status, that is related to work commitment.*

*A measure of role conflict was also investigated (in terms of whether the respondent complained that work interferes with family or personal life). Although women with preschool age children more often mentioned this problem, the crosstabulation between work commitment and whether work was seen to interfere with personal life was not statistically significant.

Neither presence of school-age nor pre-school age children was found to be related to work commitment. It would appear that employed mothers of pre-schoolers, having made the decision to work, are no less committed to continuing to work. Age was related to work commitment, but did not show two high peaks as has been found for labor force participation. Desire to continue work does decrease among 25 to 34 year-olds, but it continues to decrease with increasing age. Thus work commitment for these employed women does not seem to be related to life-cycle stage, but more directly to the process of aging or the different histories of the age cohorts (e.g. education). Three measures of family economic status were examined: actual family income,* perception of whether income is comfortable, and perceived income adequacy relative to needs. Only actual family income was found to be related to work commitment, with a U-shaped curvilinear trend. Women in middle-income categories ($8000-14,999) were slightly less committed to continuing work.

With regard to investment and occupational variables, it was found that work commitment increases gradually with education, with a large increase at the level of a college degree or more (76.9% expressed a desire to continue working). There was no relationship between work history and desire to keep working; however, it was felt that the nature of the work may be important, so the relationship was examined separately within

*It might have been preferable to use husband's income (family income minus respondent's income), but this measure is obviously not suitable for other marital categories. Unlike Dowdall (1973), I did not have a subjective social class variable which could have been used for all marital statuses, so family income was used as a less satisfactory alternative.

occupational categories.* No statistically significant relationships were found. However occupation was related to work commitment, with a slight decrease in commitment as one moves down the occupational ladder. Blue-collar and sales workers have the lowest commitment, followed by clerical and service workers; more than seven out of ten professionals/ managers would continue to work without financial necessity. It was thought that the typicality of occupation (relative to sex distribution) might be important; however, women in typically male jobs had similar levels of commitment as other women.**

Two attitudinal variables were investigated to determine whether they were related to a woman's work commitment,

*A pattern was evident whereby blue-collar women who had worked a greater proportion of their adult lives had a decreased work commitment, whereas a longer work history for professionals/ managers increased their work commitment, but the conditional relationships were small and not statistically significant.

**Women in occupation that are typically masculine, called "role innovators," have been found to be more autonomous, individualsitic, and motivated by internally imposed demands to perform to capacity (Tangri, 1972). It was thought that these women might also be more committed to work. The measure used for typicality of occupation is analygous to that used by Parnes (1975). In the present data, any occupation in which at least 50 percent of the workers were women was defined as "typical". Occupations with less than 40 percent women were categorized as "atypical", and the remainder as other.

namely, job satisfaction and instrumental orientation.* Low job satisfaction is associated with low work commitment; among those women who are highly satisfied, two-thirds desire to continue working. With regard to instrumental orientation, it is only among women who rate challenge high and financial aspects low (non-instrumental) that work commitment increases noticeably (to 73.8%).

*The instrument used for job satisfaction is a facet-free measure tested by Mangione (1973), consisting of such questions as whether one would choose the same job again, recommend it to a friend, etc. Instrumental orientation is designed to measure the aspects which are valued in a job. Respondents were asked to rate certain aspects as very important to not at all important; factor analysis identified challenge aspects and financial aspects as two of several factors. The typology for instrumental orientation was: non-instrumental (high on challenge, low on financial); mixed high (high on challenge, high on financial); mixed low (low on challenge, low on financial); and instrumental (low on challenge, high on financial). A fuller explanation of these measures can be found in Thomson (1977).

Goodman analysis

From the foregoing analysis, certain variables were identified as being associated with work commitment; others, such as presence of pre-school children and race, showed no relationship but will be included in the analysis to be certain that their influence was not suppressed by other variables. All of the variables to be entered into the analysis were dichotomized (or trichotomized) as follows:

Work commitment (W)
(1) yes (56.9%)
(2) no (43.1%)

Age (A)
(1) less than 30 (37.4%)
(2) age 30 or older (63.6%)

Marital status (M)
(1) currently married (56.9%)
(2) other (43.1%)

Presence of pre-school children (C)
(1) no (87.5%)
(2) yes (12.5%)

Family income (F)
(1) less than $8000 (28.5%)
(2) $8000-14,999 (35.5%)
(3) $15,000 or more (36.0%)

Race (R)
(1) white (86.3%)
(2) black (13.7%)

Education (E)
(1) high school graduate or less (69.4%)
(2) some college or more (30.6%)

Occupation (O)
(1) professional/manager (20.6%)
(2) clerical/sales/service (60.3%)
(3) blue-collar (19.1%)

Job satisfaction (S)
(1) less satisfied (57.3%)
(2) very satisfied (42.7%)

Instrumental orientation (I)
(1) non-instrumental (14.6%)
(2) mixed (58.7%)
(3) high instrumentalism (26.7%)

According to the theoretical scheme proposed earlier in this chapter, the variables affecting work commitment were categorized into: (a) structural variables relative to the family; (b) structural variables relative to occupation; and (c) attitudinal variables. The use of a multi-stage analysis will follow these sets of variables. First, the four-variable crosstabulation involving work commitment (W), presence of pre-school children (C), marital status (M), and age (A) was analyzed via the ECTA program. The goals were to search for any significant three-variable interactions involving work commitment and to test if the presence of preschool children was related to work commitment at any levels of the other variables.

From the results of both the saturated model and the model (WCM) (WCA) (WMA) (CMA), the only statistically significant three-variable interaction involving work commitment was that between commitment, marital status, and age. An examination of the three-way crossclassification reveals that women under age 30 who are not currently married have the highest amount of work commitment. Age has no effect on the work commitment of married women, and marital status has only a small effect among older women. But it is the combination of being

young and not married that contributes to high work commitment.

In terms of the influence of pre-school children, there were no significant two-or three-variable effects involving the relationship of presence of pre-school children and work commitment. However, before dropping it from the analysis, the variable of family income was added to form a five-variable crossclassification including work commitment (W), presence of pre-school children (C), marital status (M), age (A), and family income (F). Neither pre-school children nor family income were related to work commitment for these employed women; presence of pre-school children was therefore dropped in the following analysis.

The second stage of the analysis consisted of adding two investment variables-occupation (O) and education (E)-to the crossclassification above. In the saturated model, the only three-variable interaction involving work commitment which is significant is that between work commitment, education and occupation (WEO). *

* The only other interaction which approaches significance is that between commitment, marital status, and occupation (WMO), but in the Chisquare partition, the addition of (WMO) was not statistically significant.

It is important to note that the interaction involving work commitment, marital status, and age (WMA) identified in the first stage is no longer significant. Thus the finding that young unmarried women have high rates of work commitment is not simply a function of age but is related to education or occupation.

From the examination of the three-variable interaction between education and occupation, it is evident that the combination of a college degree and a professional/managerial position results in very high work commitment (74.6%)--higher than on the basis of education (64.1% with high commitment) or occupation alone (68.7%). The work commitment of professionals/managers with no college experience (48.9%) is actually lower than that of clerical workers. For clerical and blue-collar workers, education makes no difference (although the category of blue-collar workers with college experience is too small to make generalizations). Thus the relationship between education and work commitment holds only for professional/-managerial women, while occupation retains an influence on work commitment. *

The question of whether family income exerts any influence on work commitment is again that it does not, and it can therefore be dropped from the analysis. Before proceeding to the final step of the analysis, the influence of race was examined in order to be certain that it had no effect on work commitment

*This is also evident in the fact that the λ-effects of education in the best-fitting model were not statistically significant, whereas those for occupation were.

when other variables were controlled. In the crossclassification of work commitment (W), marital status (M), age (A), occupation (O), and race (R), several interactions involving work commitment and race were significant at the 0.05 level. These involved work commitment, marital status, and race (WMR) and work commitment, occupation, and race (WOR). An examination of these three-way cross-classifications revealed several conditional relationships:

(1) The relationship between marital status and work commitment is conditional upon race: for whites, non-married women have higher work commitment than do married ones, but there is no difference by marital status for blacks. (White women who are not currently married have the highest levels of work commitment, followed by black women, with white married women having the lowest work commitment.)

(2) The relationshop between occupation and work commitment is conditional upon race: black professionals/managers have higher work commitment than their white counterparts, and black blue-collar women have much higher work commitment (53.6% desire to continue to work) than their fellow white workers (35.6%).

The final stage of the analysis was to add the two attitudinal variables related to working--job satisfaction

and instrumental orientation toward work. This crossclassification included: work commitment (W), marital status (M), age (A), occupation (O), job satisfaction (J), and instrumental orientation (I).*

Series of models were tested to see how well they fit the multivariate crossclassification (Table 1, pp. 2-21). Because several attitudinal variables were included, none was designated as the dependent variable at this stage of the analysis; the concern was with finding the best-fitting model. The saturated model revealed several three-variable interactions where some of the levels of the variables were statistically significant. Yet the model (H^2) in Table 7.11 which contained only two-variable relationships did fit the data well ($p > 0.5$). Therefore, the decision was made to first eliminate all non-significant two-variable effects (backward elimination) and then add the three-variable interactions (forward selection) to see if they were significant (based on Chi-square partition). In Table 7.11, models (H_3) through (H_9) progressively eliminate one two-variable effect.** In comparing models (H_5) to (H_7), note that the inclusions of MA (model H_6 vs. H_5) and JI (model H_7 vs. H_6) are statistically significant at below the 0.02 level. But in the model

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* Education was dropped in the analysis because it was not significant and found to be conditional upon occupation; race was not included because the crosstabulation would have contained numerous empty cells.

** The order in which they were eliminated was determined by their standardized value in the saturated model; those with the lowest values were eliminated first.

TABLE 1

Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square, Degrees of Freedom, and P-values Obtained Under Various Models and Comparison of Such Models for Work Commitment, Marital Status, Age, Occupation, Job Satisfaction, and Instrumental Orientation*

Model		$LR\chi^2$ (df)	p-value**	Partition of Chi-square: Changes (from model)	Differences $LR\chi^2$ (df)	p-value***
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(H_1)	W,M,A,O,J,I	286.71 (135)	0.0			
(H_2)	WM,WA,WO,WJ,WI, MA,MO,MJ,MI,AO, AJ,AI,OJ,OI,JI	87.50 (109)	>0.5			
(H_3)	WM,WA,WO,WJ,WI, MA,MO,MJ,MI,AJ, OJ,OI,JI	90.44 (113)	>0.5	-AO,AI (H_2)	2.97 (4)	n.s.
(H_4)	WM,WA,WO,WJ,WI, MA,MO,MJ,AJ,OJ, OI, JI	94.20 (115)	>0.5	-MI (H_3)	3.76 (2)	n.s.
(H_5)	WM,WA,WO,WJ,WI, MA,MO,AJ,OJ,OI,JI	98.23 (116)	>0.5	-MJ (H_4)	4.03 (1)	<0.05
(H_6)	WM,WA,WO,WJ,WI MA,AJ,OJ,OI,JI	102.16 (118)	>0.5	-MO (H_5)	3.93 (2)	n.s.
(H_7)	WM,WA,WO,WJ,WI AJ,OJ,OI,JI	109.43 (119)	>0.5	-MA (H_6)	7.27 (1)	<0.01
(H_8)	WM,WA,WO,WJ,WI AJ,OJ,OI	115.39 (121)	>0.5	-JI (H_7)	5.96 (2)	<0.02
(H_9)	WM,WA,WO,WJ, WI,AJ,OI	120.70 (123)	>0.5	-OJ (H_8)	5.31 (2)	n.s.
(H_{10})	WM,WO,WJ,WI, AJ,OJ,OI	124.97 (122)	0.409	-WA (H_8)	9.58 (1)	<0.01

TABLE 1 (continued)

Model (1)		$LR\chi^2$ (df) (2)	p-value** (3)	Partition of Chi-square: Changes (from model) (4)	Differences $LR\chi^2$ (df) (5)	Differences p-value*** (6)
(H_{11})	WOI,WM,WA,WJ AJ,OJ,JI	102.17 (115)	>0.5	+WOI (H_8)	7.26 (4)	n.s.
(H_{12})	WOI,MAI,WM,WA, WJ,AJ,OJ,JI	88.10 (108)	>0.5	+MAI (H_{11})	14.07	<0.05
(H_{13})	WOI,WMO,WA,WJ, AJ,OJ,JI	95.80 (111)	>0.5	+WMO (H_{11})	6.37 (4)	n.s.

*Wage and salary workers, 1969 and 1973 data
**goodness-of-fit
***significance level

NOTE: (W) work commitment
(M) marital status
(A) age
(O) occupation
(J) job satisfaction
(I) instrumental orientation

where they were last included, the standardized values were not significant; they were therefore dropped to give a more parsimonious model. Deleting the effect of age and work commitment (WA in model H_{10}) is significant in both the Chi-square partition and in the standardized value measure in the model, so (WA) should be kept. Adding the three-variable interactions (models H_{10} to H_{12}) does not improve the fit to the data; therefore model H_9 is selected as the best representation of the relationships involved in the six-variable crossclassification. Again, per Goodman, this means that only these two-variable relationships are needed to reproduce the six-variable crossclassification.

Summary of hierarchical model

Two of the questions initially raised can be answered by this multi-stage hierarchical modeling, namely, which family status and occupational variables influence the work commitment of women. First, it should be noted that presence of pre-school children had no influence on work commitment even when controlling for family income, marital status, and age. Marital status consistently emerged as being the only family status variable associated with work commitment, but this occurred only for white women: black women who were currently married had rates of work commitment similar to black women who were in the single, divorced, separated, or widowed category. In the initial stages, the interaction between age, marital status, and work commitment pointed to the much higher commitment of young, unmarried women; but

this disappeared when education and occupation were introduced into the analysis. Evidently, the higher work commitment of young unmarried women is in part due to their higher education (since occupation was unrelated to age). The association between age and work commitment did not seem to reflect life-cycle stage in terms of familial roles, but rather that work commitment was lower among older age cohorts.

Education, as an investment variable, was related to work commitment only for professional and managerial women. As such, its effect can be viewed as being mediated through the variable of occupation. Being in a particular occupational group clearly influenced work commitment, and its influence differed slightly by race: black professionals, managers, and blue-collar workers had higher rates of work commitment than their white counterparts, whereas the rate for black clerical, sales and service was lower than whites. *

The relationship between occupation and work commitment persisted even when job satisfaction and instrumental orientation were introduced. In the third and final stage of the modeling, marital status, occupation, age, job satisfaction, and instrumental orientation were all found to be

*This may be due in part to the fact that "service" work is different for whites and blacks, e.g. private household workers. But this does not detract from the other finding.

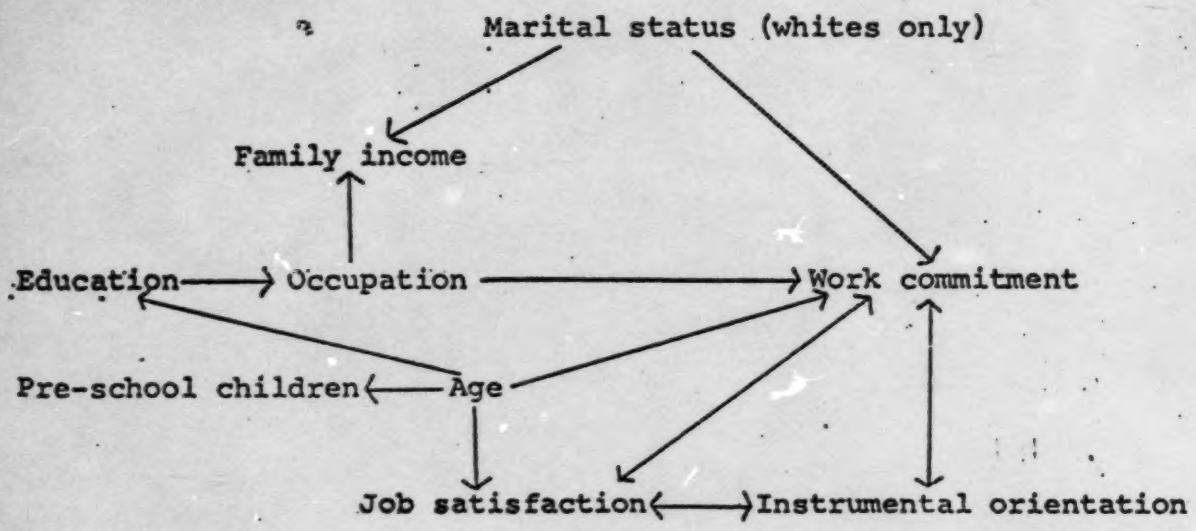
associated with work commitment. Unmarried women (whites) professionals and managers, younger women, those who wanted jobs with challenge vis-a-vis financial, and those who were satisfied with their jobs all expressed high levels of work commitment. Each of these was directly related to work commitment, and none of the relationships were specified by other variables in the analysis (as evidenced by the lack of any significant three-variable interactions). Combining the results of the three-stage modeling, Figure 1 presents a theoretical statement of the findings. Reference to this clearly shows which structural variables relative to family and occupation, and which attitudinal variables are related to work commitment. To answer the question of the contribution of such influences, coefficients of determination are used.

Coefficients of determination

By comparing a series of models with a baseline model, coefficients of multiple determination were calculated to measure relative reduction in error. The baseline model used included all interactions among the independent variables, thereby considering work commitment as a dependent variable and allowing for a more conservative estimate of the coefficients. These coefficients indicate the relative reduction in unexplained variation in the dependent variable accounted for by the main effects of the

FIGURE 1

Theoretical Statement of the Variables Affecting Work Commitment, from Multi-Stage Goodman-Analysis



NOTE: Arrows including work commitment are the two-variable effects in the final stage of the Goodman analysis.

independent variables, or a combination of independent variables. Table 2 (p. 27) presents the results.

Note that the effects of age and job satisfaction are small (R^2 = 0.045 and 0.071, respectively), and that an instrumental orientation only slightly influences work commitment (R^2 = 0.125). The two strongest effects on work commitment are those of marital status (R^2 = 0.185) and occupation (R^2 = 0.188). The combined effect of the two family status variables, marital status and age, is 0.216. But when one introduces the third structural variable of occupation, a moderate R^2 of 0.378 results. But using only the attitudinal variables of job satisfaction and work orientation, only a small portion of the unexplained variation (R^2 = 0.185) in commitment is explained.

It can thus be concluded that structural variables pertaining to both occupational and marital status have the strongest influence on the extent to which a woman says she would work without financial necessity. Attitudes have less influence on work commitment, as seen by the low reduction in unexplained variation in work commitment accounted for by job satisfaction and instrumental orientation. Clearly, structural factors explain more of the variation in work commitment than do either job satisfaction or work orientation.

TABLE 2

Coefficients of Multiple Determination Pertaining to Work Commitment, Marital Status, Age, Occupation, Job Satisfaction, and Instrumental Orientation*

Coefficient	Models compared to 1,23456
$R^2 1 \cdot 2 = 0.185$	12,23456
$R^2 1 \cdot 3 = 0.045$	13,23456
$R^2 1 \cdot 4 = 0.188$	14,23456
$R^2 1 \cdot 5 = 0.071$	15,23456
$R^2 1 \cdot 6 = 0.125$	16,23456
$R^2 1 \cdot 23 = 0.216$	12,13,23456
$R^2 1 \cdot 234 = 0.378$	12,13,14,23456
$R^2 1 \cdot 56 = 0.185$	15,16,23456

*Wage and salary women workers, 1969 and 1973 data

NOTE: (1) work commitment
(2) marital status
(3) age
(4) occupation
(5) job satisfaction
(6) instrumental orientation

Discussions and Conclusion

The previous analysis has focused on those family status, occupational, and attitudinal variables found to influence a woman's desire to continue working without financial necessity. If one were to draw a composite portrait of the working woman with high work commitment, she would be described in the following way. The highest commitment, is among young white women who are not currently married.* This highly committed woman has at least some college experience (especially a degree) and is most likely to be a professional or manager. Furthermore, she is very satisfied with her job and values the challenge aspects of the job more highly than the financial aspects (non-instrumental). The picture of a woman with a low degree of work commitment is that she is an older white, married blue-collar woman with no more than a high school education. Her job is not satisfying to her; and her work orientation is either instrumental or mixed. It is important to note that presence of pre-school children, family income, and income adequacy were not found to influence work commitment, even when examined with a series of controls.

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* Recall that black married and unmarried women had similar levels of work commitment, which were lower than white unmarried women, but higher that white married women.

In the theoretical framework posited, one of the central questions was the relative influence of family status, occupational, and attitudinal variables on work commitment. From the multi-stage Goodman hierarchical modeling, and the calculation of coefficients of multiple determination, it was possible to identify marital status and occupation as having equally strong effects on work commitment. These structural variables accounted for a larger proportion of the unexplained variation in the model (R^2 = 0.378) than did attitudinal variables (R^2 = 0.185). However, this latter influence of job satisfaction and work orientation was by no means negligible, only less strong than marital status and occupation. Clearly, these attitudes, and especially work orientations, were more important than the structural variable of age.

Some deviations in this pattern were identified through the interactions in the analysis. Of special importance are the findings regarding black women. Marital status did not distinguish the work commitment levels of black women, pointing to the unimportance of this structural variable on the work lives of black women. Furthermore, the

level of work commitment was noticeably higher among black professionals, managers, and blue-collar workers than it was among their white counterparts. The finding regarding professionals and managers may well stem from the somewhat unique position of being a black woman in a white male occupational world, or what Epstein (1973) called the "multiple negative." Black women who have achieved high status in spite of double barriers would be expected to have greater commitment to their work, if for no other reason than that they have persevered. That black blue-collar workers are more highly committed may well suggest that moving into a job such as a factory operative represents upward mobility for these black women and thereby reinforces their desire to keep working.

In addition, there was a clear multiplier effect on the work commitment of women professionals with at least some college experience (at each level of age, marital status, and family income). It is likely that their high level of work commitment (74.6%) would have been even higher had only women with at least a college degree been examined (based on examination of earlier crosstabulations). Being in a professional or managerial position does not guarantee high work commitment, as evidenced by the lower commitment of those women with no college experience. Rather it is the combination of college experience and a professional/managerial occupation which contributes to high work commitment. In addition, education was a relevant variable only for

professionals and managers.

From the final stage of the Goodman hierarchical modeling, it is possible to conclude that the attitudinal and structural variables examined did not interact to influence work commitment. Dowdall (1974a) had found that approval of maternal employment was a relevant attitudinal variable influencing labor force participation for women of higher status but not of lower status. With regard to job satisfaction and work orientations, no such differences were found for women at different occupational levels. While this in part may be due to the intercorrelations between occupation, job satisfaction, and work orientations, it also means, for example, that professional women who were satisfied with their jobs did not have rates of work commitment different than expected on the basis of occupation and job satisfaction, separately. Or, that dissatisfied blue-collar women had lower rates of work commitment than expected from each characteristic.

To conclude, the formation of work commitment as an attitude (desire to continue working) is related to the structural variables of marital status (for whites) and occupation. Furthermore, being satisfied with one's job and valuing challenge in work also increase such commitment. But each of these variables has an effect (given the level of the other variables) that is not specified by the other variables in the model. There appears to be no evidence of interactions between the structural and attitudinal

variables thus examined. This, however, does not mean that such interactions might not be discovered with different variables in the model, for example, attitudes toward maternal employment, or with a sample including non-employed women.

Finally, one might wish to briefly compare the processes involved in influencing work commitment as an attitude and as behavior (or expected behavior). From previous studies, it can be concluded that the presence of pre-school children influences the decision to enter the labor force, but does not appear to affect work commitment once a woman is in the labor force (working at least twenty hours per week). However, being currently married has a depressant effect on both labor force participation and work commitment. Similarly, being in a white-collar occupation, and especially professional or managerial, appears to increase both the expectations and desires for continued work, as does higher education. The various measures of income used in previous studies showed some influences on labor force participation or labor force attachment, but these variables, as well as perception of income adequacy, were not related to the desire to continue working. Concerning attitudinal variables, job satisfaction, and working to fill a need for accomplishment or for challenge, were positively related to higher labor force attachment and work commitment.

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